

# A Rage for Order

Black/White Relations in the  
American South Since Emancipation

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# Booker T. Washington

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A Rage for Order

America. Booker T. Washington offered one alternative, a relatively accommodative one in which blacks would strive to be superbly white but only in areas carefully selected to appear nonaggressive to whites. Washington's appeal to both blacks and whites was almost overwhelming in the turn-of-the-century years. What he would preserve for black people were precisely those things, religion aside, they held most dear: the farm, the family, and education. What he gave up were claims to things that blacks in a large measure had already lost in fact if not in law: physical integration and full political participation. Moreover, by giving up demands for integration in public places and universal male suffrage, he seemed also to surrender any claim to the "social equality" that so thoroughly frightened whites.

Washington and his program came to stage center on the speaker's platform of the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition in 1895, the very year Frederick Douglass died. In an address given as a part of the opening ceremonies, he called upon both whites and blacks to "put down their buckets" where they were, to come to terms with one another, and to draw upon the rich resources that each afforded the other. Black people had been loyal to their masters during the war, they had labored faithfully, and they would be loyal to white employers now and work "without strikes and labour wars." The white South after emancipation had given black people "a man's chance in the commercial world." For future progress, black and white had only to band together again, to deal with one another in a spirit of trust as they had in the past. Implicit in his words was the program he had followed at Tuskegee with signal success for more than a dozen years, a program that he had evolved out of his experience at Hampton Institute. In the exchange as offered in 1895, black people would accept some things and expect others. Washington symbolized his idea with a dramatic gesture. He held up his right hand, fingers spread. "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers," he declared. Closing his fingers into a fist, he concluded, "yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This "Atlanta Compromise," as it came to be called, was Washington's offering to the white people as the basis for an interracial peace. The audience accepted it with thunderous applause, with, indeed, a standing ovation.<sup>13</sup> It was not, it must be noted, a representative audience. In fact, the stage was filled with Georgia Republicans, a Reconstruction Republican governor had introduced Washington, and a Republican federal judge followed him as speaker. Finally, the whole Exposition was gotten up by business interests as a commercial device to combat the great depression of the 1890s.

Ironically, even as Washington's power grew, the inadequacy of his accommodationism in the face of a rapidly deteriorating state of race relations became increasingly apparent. What changed was not Washington or his racial philosophy, or even his tactics, but rather the racial posture of the white world with which he had to deal. Washington, in essence, had offered an arrangement to whites who were racially conservative, to men who thought of blacks as a people created for a subordinate and serving place in a world dominated by benevolent whites. As the years clicked over the end of the century, however, these people lost control of their communities and, in the deep South, they lost whole states to racial extremists who regarded black people as hardly more than dangerous beasts. Washington had negotiated a compromise with benevolent establishments only to find many of those establishments dissolved and replaced by ones that were positively malevolent.

The racial world changed; so also did the material one, and that change compounded racial difficulties. Washington's program was designed for the agrarian order of the nineteenth century. But even as Washington gained power, the United States and the South were moving into an industrial order that would dominate the lives of the great mass of working America in the twentieth century as agrarian orders had dominated their lives in the nineteenth century. There had been a place made for black people in the old order. In the new order, powerful elements would press for their exclusion.

According to Washington,  
How would African Americans  
achieve more rights?

The germ of the idea that proved to be the great alternative to the Washingtonian approach appeared a scant two years after the Atlanta speech. It was offered by W. E. B. DuBois, who came to the lower South in 1897 to take a teaching post at Atlanta University. DuBois, then twenty-nine, was a brilliant young man with degrees from Fisk and Harvard. He had studied at the University of Berlin under some of the foremost German scholars in that dawning age of social science, and he was completing a study of Philadelphia Negroes when he came to Atlanta. In 1897 in two little-noticed articles he introduced the revolutionary idea that the black experience in America was not only essentially different from that of the whites, but that it was necessarily and beautifully so. In DuBois's interpretation, every people was imbued by God at creation with a distinct genius. Throughout its life each people struggled, often in confusion and seeming contradiction with itself, to realize its special nature. Different peoples came to new and higher plateaus of self-realization at different times. Black people in America, so recently out of slavery, were a child race, only then coming to the threshold of self-understanding. There had been painful struggle, and there would be further struggle in which the true nature of black soul would become increasingly evident. But even then, he argued, even in 1897 it was clear that blacks were a specially spiritual people, living in the midst of an increasingly materialistic America. They were also an artistic people given specially to music, to colors, and language. In time, by virtue of their own striving, the genius of black people would manifest itself, and they would find themselves in close harmony with the prime being, and, presumably, through Him, with all else. Thus the path of progress, the way to harmony and a perfect assimilation lay in the pursuit of blackness not whiteness, in black people seeking communion with black people. Self-realization would not be achieved one by one, but all together or not at all. Consequently, a certain amount of black exclusiveness, a certain amount of voluntary separation from whites and confederation in all-black enclaves was essential to salvation.<sup>15</sup>

DuBois's racial philosophy was fundamentally different from that of Booker Washington, but the difference was not at first apparent. Indeed,

the two men could come together readily and easily upon the ground of the necessity of concert among black people. Washington's program featured race pride, solidarity, and self-help. DuBois, of course, could easily endorse these. Also, DuBois was very much in favor of the economic improvement of black people, endorsed industrial education as legitimate, and applauded the rise of black businesses able to stand upon the patronage of black people. Most of all, Washington and DuBois agreed on the necessity of black people organizing to pursue their interests. Finally, the principal and the professor both wanted full political and civil rights for black people, though they might differ as to how to achieve those goals. For a time, DuBois could even be contented with a degree of gradualism. During the last years of the nineteenth century, he, along with nearly every other influential black leader in the South, applauded Washington's stance and followed his lead. Washington recognized DuBois's talents and support. On three occasions he offered the young professor appointments at Tuskegee. On each occasion DuBois turned down the offer with reluctance.

Scholars have long noted that DuBois was, himself, often at bitter variance with the parent organization of his magazine. The root of that variance was philosophical and lay in the fact that DuBois was not an assimilationist in the traditional sense. The NAACP searched longingly for the key to the integration of blacks into the mainstream of American life. For it, an ideal society would be one in which color had no practical significance. DuBois, on the other hand, thought of color as the key to salvation. Far from eradicating color consciousness, he thought it essential that it be promoted, developed, and refined. In insisting that blacks were innately and perpetually different from whites, DuBois took a position that was virtually opposite from the integrative, assimilationist stance of the NAACP. Inevitably, in later times the difference would cause a breach. It came in the 1930s when DuBois came out for black people voluntarily segregating themselves from whites in certain areas. Every other black leader, including his friends in the NAACP, vigorously opposed that program. Ultimately, DuBois went his own way. He became a Marxist and settled himself in Africa, where he lived his last years.

According to DuBois, how would African Americans achieve more rights?

## Final Evaluation

DuBois was the black radical in race relations in America; he was the revolutionary. Before his time, no broadly influential black leader, nor any white leader who was sympathetic to blacks, held that black people were God-given and essentially different from white people, and perpetually and beautifully so. Indeed, placed along the scale of assimilation versus nonassimilation, the NAACP and the Bookerites fell upon one side and DuBois on the other. The NAACP was spread along the far end of the assimilation side and the Bookerites were arrayed on the same side but inward and closer to center, while DuBois would stand close to the end on the other side. In the interest of black people winning a greater share in the good things of American life, both Washington and DuBois would move closer to assimilation. But where Washington would aspire

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to achieve a perfect assimilation, DuBois would stringently resist that end. For him, blackness was to be preserved and perfected, never totally lost. DuBoisian assimilation would be of a transcendental nature. Black people had contributed and would continue to contribute to a total American culture that was both black and white, each pursuing its own identity and thereby to know itself and to know God, and through Him to achieve harmony.

DuBois's plan was more comprehensive, more cosmopolitan than any other. It is highly significant that he stood in sharp contrast to Washington and the NAACP in his attitude toward Africa. Before DuBois, black American leaders as a group exhibited little interest in Africa, and most of the interest shown was in Africa as a missionary field for the spread of "American" culture, not as the homeland of soul brothers from whom one might learn as well as teach. Washington's interest in Africa was practically nil, and the NAACP did not feature an African relations department. Probably most educated blacks would have agreed with the black writer Charles Chesnut, who confessed that he was "not greatly concerned about Africa except as an interesting foreign country."<sup>20</sup> But DuBois, as early as 1899, initiated the first Pan African conference. He was ecumenical in his blackness where his cohorts were provincial or, at most, national. Washington allowed black people to join his club if they were "good" blacks and industrious. The NAACP allowed them to join their club if they were "good" Americans. DuBois allowed them to join the club if they were, quite simply, black. Washington's tenure as the spokesman for the black mass was actually relatively brief. He enjoyed great strength from about 1895 to about 1907, and considerable strength until his death in 1915. The NAACP would have a very successful life for over half a century. Ultimately, however, it would find that it could go only so far in making white people out of black people in America. In the 1960s, DuBoisian soul would prove to be the most powerful organizing idea of all. It would pick up all black people, the lowly more easily than the high, and practically none would escape the pull of its gravity. Bookerism and the NAACP, after all, were for the qualified few, while Black Soul was for the masses ... wherever they were.<sup>21</sup>

Goal: To evaluate the methods of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

Question:

Based on the information of Washington and DuBois, which method was most effective in achieving greater equality for African Americans? Explain.

**For the Sources that follow you are to annotate according to the questions below.**

1. Was there one central cause? Or several of equal importance?
2. What were the causes of the riot?
3. To what extent were the causes of the riot unique to the North? For instance, have similar "causes" of the riot occurred in the South?
4. What signs do you find of the survival or rejection of the philosophy of Booker Washington, DuBois or Wells?
6. How do you assess the relative importance and interaction of economic, political, ideological and social forces in creating the background for the riot?

**Document #1: *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 28, 1919**

"Shortly after 5 o'clock...white bathers at the 29th Street beach saw a colored boy on a raft paddling into what they termed 'white' territory. A snarl of protest went up from the whites and soon a volley of rocks and stones was sent in his direction. One rock, said to have been thrown by George Stauber of Cottage Grove Avenue, struck the lad and he toppled into the water. Colored men who were present attempted to go to his rescue, but they were kept back by the whites....Indignant [at the refusal of the police to arrest Stauber], the Negroes...commenced to pummel him. The whites came to his rescue and then the royal battle was on. Fists flew and rocks were hurled....Policeman John O'Brien and three blacks were shot...

"The battling spread along Cottage Grove Avenue and outbreaks were conspicuous at every corner....Meanwhile the fighting continued along the lake....Acting Police Chief Alcock...immediately sent out a call to every station in the city to rush all available men to the Black Belt [black neighborhood]. Before they arrived, colored and white men were mobbed in turn. The blacks added to the racial feeling by carrying guns and brandishing knives...

"By nightfall...whites stood at all prominent corners ready to avenge the beatings their brothers had received. Along Halsted and State Streets they were armed with clubs, and every Negro who appeared was pummeled."

**Document #2: "Ghastly Deeds of Rioters Told", *The Chicago Defender* (a black newspaper), Aug. 2, 1919**

"In all parts of the city, white mobs dragged from...cars black passengers wholly ignorant of any trouble [and] set upon them....The homes of blacks isolated in white neighborhoods were burned to the ground and the owners and occupants beaten and thrown unconscious in the smoldering embers. Meanwhile rioters in the 'black belt' smashed windows and looted shops of white merchants on State Street.

"[Black] workers thronging the loop district to their work were set upon by mobs of sailors and marines roving the streets and several fatal casualties have been reported....The loop violence came as a surprise to the police...as no outbreaks had been expected in this quarter."

**Document #3: *The Survey* (a national periodical), Aug. 9, 1919**

"The fury spread like wildfire, first back in the 'black belt'....Workers in the stockyards, 10,000 or more of whom are Negroes, were at first guarded as they entered and left, but few of them could get to their work when rioting made passage through the streets unsafe....Gangs of white and black hoodlums appeared and ran amuck. Armed men of either color dashed through the district in automobiles and beyond, firing as they flew. Two white men, wounded while shooting up the district, were found to carry official badges, one being thus identified as...a Chicago policeman.

"At last the mayor...called upon the governor for the assistance of the state troops....While a suspension of organized hostilities has thus been secured, sniping continues...

"A colored soldier wearing a wound stripe on his sleeve was beaten to death while limping along one of the main streets. He was heard to exclaim, 'This is a fine reception to give a man just home from the war.'"

**Document #4: The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, 1922**

"Newspaper reports...showed 6 percent more whites injured than Negroes. As a matter of fact, there were 28 percent more Negroes injured than whites. The Chicago Tribune on July 29 reported twenty persons killed, of whom 13 were white and seven colored. The true figures were exactly the opposite...

"The [Grand Jury] believes that these fires were started for the purpose of inciting race feelings by blaming same on the blacks."

**DOCUMENT #5: NAACP leader Walter White, in The Crisis (a national Black monthly edited by W.E.B. Dubois), Oct. 1919.**

"The papers of Chicago have played up in prominent style with glaring, prejudice-breeding headlines every crime or suspected crime committed by Negroes. Headlines such as 'NEGRO BRUTALLY MURDERS PROMINENT CITIZEN', 'NEGRO ROBS HOUSE', and the like, have appeared with alarming frequency...

"For a long period prior to the riots, organized gangs of white hoodlums had been perpetrating crimes against Negroes for which no arrests had been made...and later direct connection was shown between them and incendiary fires started during the riots. Colored men, women and children had been beaten in the parks....All of these cases had caused colored people to wonder if they could expect any protection whatever from the authorities.

**DOCUMENT #6: Walter White of the NAACP in The Crisis, Oct., 1919.**

"Prior to 1915, Chicago had been famous for its remarkably fair attitude toward colored citizens. Since that time, when the migratory movement from the South assumed large proportions, the situation has steadily grown more and more tense. This was due in part to the introduction of many Negroes who were unfamiliar with city ways....Little was done to teach them the rudimentary principles of sanitation, of conduct or of their new status as citizens under a system different from that in the South....Their carefree, at times irresponsible...conduct caused complications difficult to adjust. But equally important, though seldom considered, is the fact that many Southern whites have also come into the North.....These have spread the virus of race hatred and evidences of it can be seen in Chicago on every hand."



**Document #7: Editorial, "Unsettling the Race Problem, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 1919**

"White and black will not mix in quantity....The mass of Negroes [do not] want social equality....We believe the Negroes want the opportunity to develop their own society. If this is true there ought not to be widespread objection to social segregation, directed by themselves."

**Document #8: Dr. Scarborough, black educator, in *The Chicago Defender*, reprint from *The New York Independent*, Aug. 16, 1919**

"The spirit of the Negro who went across the seas -- who was in action, and who 'went over the top' -- is by no means the spirit of the Negro before the war. He is altogether a new man, with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations....He will not quietly submit to former conditions....And may we not hope also that we have new white men?"

**Document #9: From the [white] *Property Owner's Journal* for Hyde Park and Kenwood suburbs of Chicago, March 1919**

"The Negro is unwilling to resume his status of other years; he is exalting himself with idiotic ideas about social equality....Keep the Negro in his place, amongst his people, and he is healthy and loyal. Remove him, or allow his 'newly discovered importance to remove him from his proper environment, and the Negro becomes a nuisance'....Their presence here is intolerable..."

"Every colored man who moves into Hyde Park knows that he is damaging his white neighbor's property. Therefore, he is making war on the white man."

"Consequently, he is not entitled to any consideration and forfeits his right to be employed by the white man."

"If employers should adopt a rule of refusing to employ Negroes who reside in Hyde Park to the damage of the white man's property, it would soon show good results."

**Document #10: Wm. Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 1977**

"The directions in which the black belt could expand were few....To the north...prices were far beyond the reach of the ordinary househunter....To the west...were the Irish, whose hostility excluded blacks from that market...

"Hyde Park was a deteriorating neighborhood, one whose homes blacks could afford....For twenty to thirty years property values had declined because of the odors of the stockyards, the smoke and soot of the Illinois Central trains, the conversion of large homes into apartment buildings and flats, and the fear of an 'invasion' of blacks from nearby areas. During the war residential construction largely ceased in Chicago as elsewhere. In the early months of 1918...the demands of whites for dwellings began to exceed the supply. Ugly interracial competition for homes broke out..."

**Document #11: Dr. Willis Huggins, Chicago teacher and editor, "Why the Negro Appeals to Violence", *Literary Digest*, Aug. 9, 1919**

"The basis of the trouble is this: the large employers of labor who lured my people to the North with high wages, and the city of Chicago itself, have been derelict in providing housing for them.

"It is impossible to put 80,000 people where 50,000 lived before in utter congestion. Politicians who want to be sure of their political futures have...looked with...pleasure upon the crowding of my people in a given district so that 85% of their vote might invariably be safely held under control.

"Unscrupulous landlords and real-estate dealers have taken advantage of the shortage of houses to gouge my people, [who have] always had to pay \$5.00 and up in excess of what white tenants have paid, and that too, minus the care of the buildings and grounds that was given to white tenants.

"My people have moved into white blocks...because white people were willing to sell or rent, because they wanted to avoid the congestion in the Second Ward, and, lastly, because they are American citizens."

**Document #12: *The New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1919**

"In Chicago, as elsewhere, Negro families of the better class have always been ambitious to get into better homes and better surroundings....The entrance of colored residents into high-class white neighborhoods has always been met with protests, and sometimes with threats....Colored tenants paid disproportionately higher rent for their apartments which, as a rule, were in poorer repair than those of their immigrant neighbors."

**Document #13: Walter White of the NAACP in *The Crisis*, Oct. 1919**

"From January 1918 to August 1919 there were bombings of...houses occupied by Negroes outside of the 'Black Belt'. During this period no less than twenty bombings took place, yet only two persons have been arrested and neither of the two has been convicted."

**Document #14: *The Chicago Whip* (a black newspaper), June 28, 1919**

"The Whip informs you, the whites, that the compromising peace-at-any-price Negro is rapidly passing into the scrap heap of yesterday and being supplanted by a fearless, intelligent Negro who recognizes no compromise but who demands absolute justice and fair play.

"WE ARE NOT PACIFISTS. THEREFORE WE BELIEVE IN WAR, BUT ONLY WHEN ALL ORDERLY CIVIL PROCEDURE HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED AND THE POINTS IN QUESTION ARE JUSTIFIABLE....THE BOMBERS WILL BE BOMBED."

**Document #15: Speaker at Hyde Park-Kenwood Association meeting, May 5, 1919, quoted in *Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago*, 1922**

"Why, I remember fifteen or twenty years ago that district down here at Wabash Avenue and Calumet was one of the most beautiful and highest-class neighborhoods of this great city. Go down there today and see the ramshackle broken-down and tumbledown district. That is the result of the new menace that is threatening this great Hyde Park district.

"You cannot mix oil and water. You cannot assimilate races of a different color as neighbors along social lines. Remember this: That order is heaven's first law."

**Document #16: White South Side real estate dealer, quoted in *Chicago Daily News*, summer, 1919**

"I told them we might as well be frank about it. 'You people are not admitted to our society,' I said. Personally I have no prejudice against them. I have had experience of many years dealing with them and I'll say this for them: I have never had to foreclose a mortgage on one of them. They have been clean in every way and always prompt in their payments. But, you know, improvements are coming along the lake shore, the Illinois Central and all that; we can't have these people coming over here. Not one cent has been appropriated by our organization for bombing or anything like that."

**Document #17: Wm. Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 1977**

"The AMCBW (Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen) had launched its strike [in Chicago in 1905] in the face of a depression. Outside the stockyards each morning as many as 5,000 men stood lined up to replace the strikers....

The arch villains to emerge from the defeat [of the strike] were the packers [employers] and their strikebreakers, especially the black ones. One observer estimated that upward of 18,000 blacks served as strikebreakers....To white workers the disturbing presence of the blacks seemed to be everywhere...

"The bloody teamsters' strike of 1905...made more indelible the image of blacks as a 'scab race'. Lasting over 100 days, the strike resulted in close to twenty deaths and over 400 serious injuries....The hostility of striking whites toward strikebreaking blacks had been generalized into hatred for the black race as a whole; any black man was a potential target....'You have the negroes in here to fight us,' the teamsters' president told the employers' association, 'and we answer that we have the right to attack them wherever found.'

"The strike failures...haunted union members, and it was rumored that the packers wanted a strike (in Sept. 1917) and had imported an enormous labor reserve of blacks to break it and crush unionization."

*(Ed. note: Black workers had helped to break strikes in Chicago in 1916, 1918, and July, 1919. Unemployment levels in the city, particularly among black workers, remained high in mid-1919.)*

**Document #18: The New Majority, Chicago Federation of Labor, Aug. 9, 1919**

**Proclamation Concerning the Race Riots**

"The profiteering meat packers of Chicago are responsible for the race riots that have disgraced the city. It is the outcome of their deliberate attempt to disrupt the labor union movement in the stockyards. Their responsibility is shared by the daily newspapers which are kept subsidized by the extravagant advertising contracts of the packers...

"Discriminating against union men, [the packers] have fired them and hired nonunion men in their places....Nonunion colored workers have been brought here in great numbers...not...for their own improvement, but are enslaved at low wages and have been used by the packers to undermine union conditions.

"Organized labor has no quarrel with the colored worker: workers, black and white, are fighting the same battle. The unions met the action of the packers by starting to organize the colored workers. As soon as this work commenced, the packers started to fight the unions with foul tactics. They subsidized Negro politicians and Negro preachers and sent them out among the colored men and women to induce them not to join the unions...

"Their purpose in this...was to play upon race prejudice and create dissension between whites and blacks which would prevent the colored workers from joining the unions and prejudice the white workers against them for that reason.

"Neither black nor white union men participated in the rioting, despite the lying accounts published daily by the kept press....The rioting subsided and then someone fired the homes of hundreds of white workers back of the yards and these homes were burned to the ground. The newspapers and the police, jointly tools of the packers, tried to convince the citizens that colored workers had set fire to these homes..."

**Document #19: Hyde Park-Kenwood Association, Property Owners' Journal, May, 1919**

"Their solid vote is the Negroes' great weapon,...cast solid for the candidate who makes the best bargain with them....This solid block of 40,000 becomes a possible power and might be able to defeat or elect a candidate.

"This vote situation is the foundation of the Chicago Negro's effrontery and his evil design against the white man's property. He feels that he holds the balance of power and that he can dictate the policy of any administration that happens to be elected by his controlling black vote. He therefore becomes arrogant, insulting, threatening..

"The Negro should be consistent. As he segregates his vote and casts it all together in one block, so he should live together all in one block."

**Document #20: The Survey, Aug. 9, 1919**

"Against the united and bitter opposition of every daily newspaper in Chicago, William Hale Thompson was elected again as mayor, due, as it was claimed, to the Negro and German vote. While it is not possible to state that the anti-Thompson element deliberately brought on the riots, yet it is safe to say that they were not averse to its coming.... First, it would alienate the Negro set from Thompson...when it was seen that the police force under the direction of the mayor was unable or unwilling to protect the colored people from assault by mobs. Secondly, it would discourage the Negroes from registering and voting and thus eliminate the powerful Negro vote in Chicago...

"A contributing cause [of the riots] was the woeful inefficiency and criminal negligence of the police authorities of Chicago....Prostitution, gambling, and the illicit sale of whisky flourish openly and apparently without any fear whatever of police interference..."

**Document #21: The New York Times, Aug.3, 1919**

"Thompson had been mayor only a short time when...the old underworld...flocked to the neighborhood. White men bought saloons and cabarets, and pushed negroes to the front as their ostensible owners. Soon the Black Belt became known as the district where everything 'went'.

"All-night cabarets were jammed with whites and blacks until the morning sun streaked the sky over Lake Michigan....Jazz bands filled the air with syncopated sound, while in the cabarets whites and blacks intermingled in carousal....The rattle of dice and the click of poker chips were seldom stilled in the heart of this district...

"Then came vice in a new form:...dance halls. These new places had no liquor licenses, although most of them sold intoxicants...

"Early in 1918 the City Council passed an ordinance which put a damper for a time on the night life of the city. Last Spring, however, the mayoralty election came around again. Mayor Thompson was a candidate for re-election and was re-elected. The Black Belt did its duty...when the primary campaign opened....The Black Belt became again the center of night activities..."

**Document #22: The Literary Digest, Aug. 9, 1919**

"Maclay Hoyne, Illinois State Attorney, reports that 'large quantities of firearms, deadly weapons, and ammunition' were stored by negroes in Chicago's Black Belt, that negroes had been 'arming themselves for months', before the recent 'race war' began, that an outbreak of negro violence in Chicago had been 'planned for July 4' and that 'a secret organization' is counseling the negroes to 'obtain what they regard as social equality, by force if necessary'.

"...This 'changed attitude', as a Chicago Negro puts it, would seem to have been the underlying cause of the Chicago riots..."

**Document #23: Editorial, "Reaping the Whirlwind", The Chicago Defender, Aug. 2, 1919**

"The recent race riots at Washington resulting in the death of a number of white and colored citizens, followed by similar occurrences in Chicago, are a disgrace to American civilization. One does not have to seek very far to find the underlying cause....America is known the world over as land of the lyncher and of the mobocrat [corrupt politician]. For years she has been sowing the wind and now she is reaping the whirlwind.

"The color madness of the white man is alone responsible. Not content with inflicting upon [the black man] every form of humiliation that could be devised at home, he carried his infamous color propaganda to Europe. With the close of the war the returning black soldiers brought back the most harrowing tales of abuses at the hands of the American military contingent. The stories have carried across the land and have inflamed our people as few things have done.

"Under the promise of a square deal our boys went cheerfully into the service of the country hoping that the aftermath of the struggle would find our people in an improved social and industrial condition....Industrially our position has undoubtedly been benefitted by the war. Socially it has grown decidedly worse. On all sides we have been made to feel the humiliating pressure of the white man's prejudice. Hence the race riots."

**Document #24: Wm. Howard Taft (U.S. President, 1908-12), "Causes of Race Riots", Chicago Daily News, Aug. 1919**

"Negro leaders are divided into two classes. There are those who...believe that the real way to ameliorate conditions is to educate the negro for life by vocational and character training, and by thus increasing his value to his community and himself to moderate and neutralize the prejudice...

"There are other negroes, educated men, who with no restraint have poured out their agony of soul and sense of outrage in addresses and editorials and roused fellow negroes as they have never been roused before. The lynchings...have led to desperation among the blacks. The retired negro soldier, used to arms, returning from the war environment, resenting the ingratitude he sees in all of this, is prompted to 'direct action' to remedy his wrongs."